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215 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats (*takapas*) on poles to protect workers and canoe timbers. Caulking material, lashing senut, and canoe timbers are provided by the owner. The expert provides his own implements. (For the food financing and payment for the completed canoe, see p. 92).

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461 Expert carpenters value their good name as quick workers and rarely dawdle over a job, because this would lay them open to criticism and would militate against further building contracts. As long as the expert and his assistants work conscientiously they are well fed. There are no songs or sayings about lazy carpenters, but a quick and skillful expert will be sure to have his name praised in a chant. Informants suggested that about one moon of continuous work with shell adzes was formerly required to finish an average-sized canoe.

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531 Some experts possess a trade mark (*uakamailongo*) which they carve roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malae puka*) of each canoe he builds.

552 Canoes may be named by their owners. An appropriate canoe name is *Te Mango* (Shark) or *Te Punga-o-Witi* (Coral-rock-of-Fiji). This name is mentioned to the people who attend the canoe-finishing feast (*inu kai uakamailonga*) and the canoe is henceforth known and referred to by this name. Today some men roughly carve or paint the name on the bow of the canoe.

CANOE CREW

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793 The canoe crew is known collectively as *uaoa raka*. Specialized names for crew members of the flying-fish canoes have already been mentioned (p. 58). In general, the captain of the canoe crew is termed *tau muli vaka*. He is the steersman and leader of the crew. Formerly, especially for long distance voyages, he was usually a priest (*uata*). If he did not have priestly powers, one of his crew, who was a priest, consulted the gods in times of need.

502 The second member (*uulivuli*) of the crew (moving from stern to bow) who sits on the aft cross boom (*houhou ki muli*) is second in command and corresponds to mate. Should the captain die on a long voyage, he automatically takes command of the canoe. If the captain lays down his steering paddle to fish or rest, the *uulivuli* takes up the steering. He helps to steer in strong seas or a high wind, and uses his paddle as a make-shift keelboard when the canoe is sailing by the wind. He further tends the main sheet (*uauu*) when the sail is up, watching wind pressure and direction.

The group of paddlers amidships are termed collectively *latani*. They are

502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *toto yua*. The bowman is known as *kayua*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*koukas hi mau*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a lee-board if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

322 Formerly tapus existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309) and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest 782 commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal 562 descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they 778 appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting 793 a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a malo or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lepu* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

CARE OF CANOE

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on *chocks* (*longo*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural notch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned hull up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

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39 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous semit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous semit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of semit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *ueto* bark. Two lengths of semit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent matting of the fibers.

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The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

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The headdress of priests of *Muliwutu* was called *owamanga*. It was also associated with the god *Te Lauwaga*. Two strips of red-dyed *ueto* bark (*uuti ueto*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of *Matanga*, *Yangalipule*, and *Yamanai* sub-lineage, was called *paletu*, and was associated with the god *Te Awawutu*. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overlapping the neck and back. A double headband of *uuti ueto* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *uuti ueto* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of *Tua* and of *Matanga* sub-lineage was called *owamanga takapau* (*owamanga* (headband of crossed frigate bird feathers)). It was associated with the god *Ngaliyeyen*. It consisted of the usual *uuti ueto* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of *Tua* was associated with the goddess *Taanu*. It was made of fine mesh semit netting and was termed *kupenga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the semit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess *Taanu* had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of *Taanu* donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that *Taanu* had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

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The headdress of *Yalongo* and *Yayi* lineages was called *putiki heheo*. It was associated with *Te Atua Vaelua* and *Te Alongasa*. The long hair was oiled and braided

[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *weti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

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The headdress of *Yamaunga* was also called *sumunga*, but was associated with *Ta Maungatu* and *Talitongamuku*. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

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Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

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Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yoi*), or waist decoration (*iti*). Women seldom return from the tala gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *siale* flowers.

VILLAGE DECORATIONS

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For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *muko wala* (the white-heart leaves of the pandanus), *laku yili*, *taumakomako*, or *pola puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau wuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *wale* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*iti*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

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The *iti muko wala* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two lengthwise. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain strip of prepared pandanus (*Wu*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

521 The *lopa*, *tano*, and *womane* carried out much of the economic and social activity of the community. The *mulivaka* generally directed group activities by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. 646 23 The *tupelo*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. 888 Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupelo* were supported by the community, by gifts of *talo* from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tanganga* fishing group.

887 All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *avonga* (males) *no te tupelo*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

521 There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupelo*. When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group; 646 his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupelo* themselves. 888

578 It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their illnesses to mischief in working off personal apries and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tano*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 201.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupelo* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupelo* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

521 The oldest man of the *tupelo* group functioned as their leader. He became the right-hand man of the high chief (*aliki wole*) by virtue of his experience and age and was then called the *wela*. The *wela* was both the spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership. 646 793 613

CHIEFTAINSHIP

525 Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed. 643 The superior chief of the island was *te aliki wole o Te Ua-o-te-matu* (the major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were 613

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is *mai aliki* (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te kaa* or *te taa* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*uola*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*uola*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tapele*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yala*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yala* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

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VILLAGE	PATERNAL LINEAGE	CHIEFS
Ngaho	Mulwote	One aliki (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Motaga	One aliki, one langatila
Loto	i Tui	One aliki wolo (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yongipula	One langatila
Yeto	Yalongo	One aliki, one langatila
	Yamanga	One langatila
	Yapi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *matatope* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*aliki wolo*), seven other chiefs (*matatope*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

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643 no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapu where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukopa*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

645 Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his subordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last 643 functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, body-guard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te tokatoka no te aliki* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

195 There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special 576 salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o vale). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *wahakauvale*.

613 Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly 793 lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and executives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The 643 division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

643 A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was the pattern of appointing a *wayakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekutanga*, [171] the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years, 613

193 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

825 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernatural life and helps to reinforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernatural world.

828 Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (*Po*). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reinforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the band of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti wakariti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing *talo* beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

776 shipers and of *pua takove* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions
 361 it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua lauhis*
 673 may be either the flower of a *hie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or
 else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takove* may be
 an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree,
 unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from
 Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart
 from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

776 Ngaliyeyu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the
 [372] seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper,
 had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out,
 Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also
 guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utu-
 poa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by
 Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw
 away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the
 reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head
 covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad
 shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the
 covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped
 Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te
 Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and
 ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the
 reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

776 Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He
 822 had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island
 257 might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling
 253 the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld,
 776 especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld
 613 where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always
 helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times.
 His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to
 have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred
 enclosure called a *sewa*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is
 as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and
 was a virtuoso at whistling.

ANCESTOR GODS

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of
 familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

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— Malangatiale was killed by lightning at sea. Vakayala is best known for the fact that he stole from Motu Ko, then ran amok and killed two children, and was finally tortured and benten to death by the enraged populace. Kui Manuila may be the same person as the Kui who is a departmental god; informants remembered only his name. Like Malangatiale, Te Pewu became an ancestor god after he was killed by lightning. Poiva and Tankava are remembered only as gods of Yamanaia sub-lineage of Yangalipule. Wakakewiti is given by some as a malignant spirit, by others as an ancestor god of Yamanaia. Lowia is known as a god of Yato. Leweke is a god of Yamanaia. All these gods had religious clearings (*yionga*) and stones to mark the place where they were accidentally killed.

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— All these ancestor gods helped the people of the village or lineage with fishing and bird catching. Before fishing, men consulted the priest of the sacred clearing (*yionga*). If the gods gave favorable answer to the priest, the people came back with many fish. If they were unlucky, they blamed the priest for his lax attention to his duties; unless the priest admitted that he was at fault, bad luck continued to harass the people. In fishing bonito or other deep-sea fish, whenever the men of Matanga went past the part of Motu Ko from which they could see the clearing of Te Pewu, they stood up in the canoe and performed the thigh-beating ritual (*wakatato*) to secure the favor of the god and bring fish to the hooks.

Leweke was directly interested in *Tridacna* (*mywa*). His shrine, called Te Potu-o-Leweke (Sacred-seat-of-Leweke), was a small raised platform of stones near the lagoon beach of Loto village. When a man returned from clam fishing he would place a good clam aside as a gift to this god. People who did not belong to the sub-lineage of Yamanaia asked a priest of Yamanaia to intercede with Leweke to insure good clam fishing.

776 All the ancestor gods, and particularly Malangatiale, were interested in bird catching. They had the power of sending flocks of birds to the hands of those who prayed to them. The gods made the birds tame and easy to catch.

All the gods were generally thought of as living in a place called Titus under the sea or in the Underworld (Po). Those who were lineage gods came forth from the Underworld to help their intercessors. A number of other gods resided permanently in the Underworld; they cared for the public works of the Underworld and attended the spirits of the recently dead.

UNCLASSIFIED GODS

Unclassified gods are those who are not prayed to and have little influence on the lives of humans or else function primarily as culture heroes. Maui comes within this class, but he was definitely a culture hero with godlike

776 beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her
 773 kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the
 bird, Ngaliyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

[793] Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the
 792 medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor
 776 of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communica-
 788 tion, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations,
 the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other
 hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any mem-
 ber of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing
 the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*,
 the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats
 the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands.
 This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free
 lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown
 on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the
 ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and rec-
 ognize the tribute.

782 The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awawu and
 788 Ngaliyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the
 air and addressed the gods as follows:

To ha aie kaim e!

Te maitangi maitangi

Toin to vaga!

Two peccies desirable to eat (a term of affection-
 ate address), hail!

(Make) the wind calm

Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib
 on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He
 repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and
 answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done
 anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus
 directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family
 prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES

778 Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of
 [776] religious structures: *yionpe*, *awanga*, *wale atua*, and *pota*. The *pota* struc-
 ture, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*pota*) in a god house, was a
 simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Lewaka, the god of clams, was

778 described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about
 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the
 container thus made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man
 returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in
 one hand, he addressed the god: "Leweke o, aumai te pipi kula, te pipi melo,
 te pipi waua ula; toia to tatau" (Leweke o, bring me—next time—red shell-
 fish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw
 his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach.
 By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest
 might also pray before this shrine.

778 The god house (*waia atao*), the sacred enclosure (*awanga ya*), and the
 613 cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the
 functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house
 might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior
 lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance
 apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*laau*)
 owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*mahevas*) of the major lineage had
 its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was
 powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure.
 In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses
 depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number
 of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized
 by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred
 clearing (*yoanga ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

778 The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in
 346 the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the
 number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat
 next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post
 were sacred seats (*petu*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there
 were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required.
 The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a
 round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was
 filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of
 the house was covered with fine white gravel.

778 Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was
 713 tapu. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many
 respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged
 in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the
 general populace sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god
 house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might
 eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the
 lineage could go to the god house, as far as a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

778 the end of the seclusion period for boys attaining adulthood. In general, it
 793 seems that the house was reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and
 that others went there only on errands.

Besides priestly costume, peace "nets" (*kupenga welo*)—one associated
 778 with each of the gods Te Laupapa, Te Alongaoa, Taa, and a forgotten Yato
 796 god—were kept in the principal god house of the lineages. One was strung
 up at a meeting place by priests before the people congregated (p. 389).

The sacred enclosure (*awanga ya*) corresponds to the religious marae of
 other parts of Polynesia. Though no enclosure remains in existence today
 778 the sites of several are well known; on two of these a few stones are still in
 position. (See p. 160.) In the center of the enclosure was the sacred stone
 [771] (*unu*), the material representation of the god, a solid piece of *pu nga* coral,
 346 of any size or shape. One side of the stone, arbitrarily called the face, was
 793 turned toward the east. The priest stepped into the enclosure from one of
 two entrances (*pu*), breaks in the coral curbing. One entrance was on the
 eastern (outer beach) side and was called *pu ki ngauta*; the other on the west
 or lagoon side was called *pu ki tai*. The priest advanced to the sacred stone,
 seated himself cross-legged before it and addressed the stone, and thus the
 god, in this position.

Under ordinary circumstances, no person other than the priest and his
 778 servant (*tante*) was allowed on the enclosure. On set occasions, however,
 793 men went there, as to the god house, to clean up the ground, pick up rubbish,
 weed, refresh the gravel, or rebuild the curbing. No women assisted at this
 358 or any other time. No record survives of any ceremony designed to remove
 tapu from the enclosure so that the uninitiated might approach it. The
 routine cleanings were performed by the priest's servant who also acted as
 messenger for the priest.

778 Two worshiping structures are called *newn*, not *awanga*. These are *te*
newn o Tulikalo and *te newn o Te Maungatu*. The meaning of the word
newn in this sense is not clear. Some informants believed that *newn* is the
 name of the place where a god emerged from the Underworld when he vis-
 ited the world of mortals. Others believed that because *newn* is the name of
 attendant spirits, enclosures called *newn* are those where attendant spirits of
 the major gods might be consulted.

The sacred clearings (*yionga*) of ancestor gods, were cleared avenues,
 bordered by coconut trees, which ran from the place where the man—later
 deified—was killed to the lagoon beach or, less frequently, to the outer beach.
 Clearings might be up to 100 yards long, and from 10 to 15 feet wide. They
 were kept weeded and cleared of rubbish. Clearings for ancestor gods were
 called *yionga tangata mate* to distinguish them from the *yionga ola* clearings
 erected for the sacred maid (*mayakitonga*) to walk on. Both types of clear-
 ings were made on land owned by the lineage sponsoring the god or the

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114 that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of idols of secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of pumice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the pumice was known as *Ko-te-toke-mama* (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of pumice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

PRIESTS

193 A priest was generally called a *uata*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *tungata uai atua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

193
613 The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*jo*) which worshipped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*uakayowings*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

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787 Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dream experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no mean requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would surely be plagued by *ais* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morrow the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*uakayowings*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *tai tungata* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from the twenty to thirty members of the birth groups for two years.

793 During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and sleek through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*uakayowings*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tupus* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great feasting for the members of the

[613]

[613] lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

[193] After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupale*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

[781] Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by frequent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A man who caught a *kakei* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

[153] The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate anti-social conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapu; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

[193] The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *aukatele te tango* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

188 To *lupe*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion, taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wakouli te wae*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakatato te tanga*) and made with his lips a br...r...r... sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*lupe te leo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god. The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh (*kikikilia*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak aloud the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

111 Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as formerly to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (*Mataliki*) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

196 A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony follows:

182 The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*saungu saungu*) that surrounded the *tapu* area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga wata*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pa*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing contests, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus malo or bands of *welo* lark (*wuti welo*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wahope*; to fasten the offering to the stone with a knot is *yelo*.

181 After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

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god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to notice the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernatural power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it was used by the priest, handed back to the owner if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but bands of *uvelo* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

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With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure. When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *lupe* movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

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A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *wakatuloutulon*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land Yavake. The suppliant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "Tuloutulou te mea . . ." (Grant this thing . . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

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Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

793 him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

PEOPLE AND GODS

613 Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a
776 man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamayei, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Mataliki and Taua, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

THE SOUL

774 The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the
775 idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*mouli*) leaves the material body and wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come
761 back to its material body, and when the individual awakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

774 The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

189 Lata (1). As has already been mentioned, little use was made of white magic in economic activities.

193 The only black magic indulged in seems to have been based on suggestion; no bait objects were used. A priest might silently or orally curse a man with sickness, or else pray to his god either to send an evil substance to eat out an enemy's vitals or send an evil familiar spirit, the spirit of one newly dead, for instance, to enter a man for the same purpose. This was done solely through the power of the priest to communicate with the god and not by using or working upon material objects. When it was known that a man had been thus mentioned to a god by a priest, the man would sicken unless he could get another priest to apply to another god for counter-protection.

715 Mention has been made (p. 328) of the nooses (*matapili*) that Wotoa and Te Yoa saw hanging from the *puka* tree of Tangi which were used to trap and strangle spirits. Gill reports that he procured from Pukapuka an "crevaerus" (soul trap), which was used by the priests in the upper world to trap the souls of living victims (pl. 6). Gill (10, p. 181) writes:

754 If a person had the misfortune to offend the "sacred men", or were very ill, a soul-trap would be suspended by night from a branch of one of the gigantic laurel trees (*puka*) overshadowing his dwelling. If the family enquired "the sin for which the soul-trap was set up," some ceremonial offense against the gods would of course be assigned. The priest would sit opposite watching. If an insect or small bird chanced to fly through one of the loops, it was asserted that the soul of the culprit, assuming this form, had passed into the trap. The demon *VAERUA*,²⁰ or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades, to feast upon. It would speedily be known throughout the island that So-and-so had lost his soul, and great would be the lamentation.

The friends of the unhappy man would seek to propitiate the sorcerer by large presents of food and property, begging him to intercede with dread *VAERUA* for the restoration of the soul. This was sometimes accomplished; but at other times the priests reported that his prayers were unavailing, and *VAERUA* could not be induced to send back the spirit to reinhabit the body. The culprit fully believing all that the priest said—was he not the mouth-piece of the gods, and cognisant of the secrets of the spirit-world?—gave up all hope. His friends mourned over him as one dead; and at last the poor fellow faded away through sheer mental distress at having his spirit ensnared.

In cases of mere sickness, where the friends were anxious to know whether the sick man would get well again, if the priest reported that his spirit did not enter the snare, it was inferred that he would recover.

I enquired why some of the loops were so large, whilst others were so small. The "sacred-man" said to me, testily, "Don't you know that there are different sorts of souls—some small and others large?" I understood him to mean that the large loops were to entrap the souls of adults, the smaller ones to catch the souls of infants. The words used would imply that the large loops were for the souls of chiefs, and the small ones for the souls of common people.

The Pukapukan for *ora vaerua* would be *yale vaalus* (noose spirit-like or spirit-like noose), but the word *vaalus* would rarely be used in this sense; a

²⁰ Presumably Gill here refers to the departmental god, Te Atua Vaerua.

752 any method of removing disease objects by opening up the body. Nothing is known of amputation surgery, nor is there special treatment for shattered or gangrenous bone.

752 In the case of suppurating flesh, boils, or ulcers, the infected part is opened with a lance (*pa*) of shark tooth, and the blood and pus allowed to drain off. To remove the bad blood in filarial swellings, the skin is pierced and the liquid drained off into a coconut shell. The same limb is lanced on successive occasions until the swelling subsides. Today a nail or a piece of glass is considered more efficient than a shark tooth. In lancing ulcers or boils (*kiko papala*) no attempt is made to keep the incision open so as to drain off the pus (*pe*). The hole closes naturally and is reopened after a few days. Nothing is known of trephining, nor is there ever intentional opening of vein or artery for bloodletting. Caution was unknown. In effect, Pukapukan surgery is extremely undeveloped as compared with another western Polynesian community such as Vaitupu (19, pp. 236-246).

751 The Pukapukans had little knowledge of dental surgery. They practiced extracting only when a tooth was loose enough to be removed easily with the hand. Toothache (*tinga te nio*) is common today; a favorite remedy is the application of salt or the insertion of a piece of plug tobacco in the cavity. Formerly, the mouth was rinsed out with salt water at frequent intervals, or the cavity filled with a piece of coconut fiber soaked in salt water. Two other remedies are: pound up the leaf buds of the *puka* tree and add to them fresh water or drinking nut liquid; soak a piece of coconut stipule (*kaka*) in the liquid, and pack the material round the affected tooth and gum. Alternately, pound up a segment of the stalk of the banana tree and then tease out the fibers to make a flat surface, apply this to the tooth and gum. Foreign particles stuck between the teeth are picked out with a section of coconut leaflet midrib (*yukiyuki na nio ki te tuaniu*).

For earache, the meatus is explored with a bird quill or a chicken feather (*yokayoka ki te wulu manu*) in an effort to dislodge excessive wax. Specks in the eye (*mata pepe*) are removed by a second person who turns down the lid and blows into the eye. If a cramped foot falls asleep or is affected by pins and needles (*vae matahehehehe*) small stones are inserted between each toe and left there until relief is obtained. Cramps in the hand or arm are relieved by cracking and snapping the knuckles of the fingers (*wakiwaki na mangananga lima*).

751 The following texts are records of the powers of two men who combined the offices of medicine men, priests, and seers, and who appear to have been particularly skillful in the treatment of some of the disorders just mentioned:

751 1. Tama was a Muliwatu man. He was a seer, a man with special powers. These were the things he saw: medium-sized fish; when he clapped his hands, the hand was filled with the medium-sized fish. He clapped his hands, saw all the properties of the

756 ghosts. These were their properties, talo, sickness causing knots, malos, trees, flowers. Tamau was a priest of Te Lapapa. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he looked, there the *lepa* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *taue*, the *reue*, the *mauni*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That was his power of his magic.

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193 This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he hit it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

2. Waleu. Waleu was a man of Loto. Ngaliyeu was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned thus. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various illnesses. The person obsessed by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad illness (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *malauila*, the *aw*, the *wuti koro*, the *wo*, the *kalomo*, the *atule*: when he clapped, the small fish rushed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

751 Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

754 The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

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278 Boils and inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *taumakomako* plant. Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the medicine as a poultice (*nuvua*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow to remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *taumakomako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lele* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The enema was not used.

Consumption (*mahi tutele*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the flesh. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-

2: Macgregor

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Pukapukans

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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for priests, see p. 23.]

793 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has
834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A
286 kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made
of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require
2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells
were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights,
and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve
as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka,
and attached to the ends of the net.

854 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays
855 when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does
863 any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost
any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most
of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is
older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after
himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The
Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not
hungry, he does not eat. The older child takes his food share
away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares
it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties.
He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily
cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon,
since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion
is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon
learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From
Fau--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small
stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy,
not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long
side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed
in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will
be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touch-
ing those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping
apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong
to the same po. Stones for children will be unshaped punga.

285 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old
177 Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from
Raratonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use
save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was